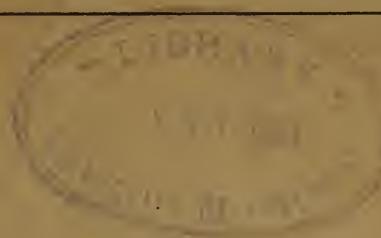


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COLORADO COLLEGE STUDIES.

VOLUME X.

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE COLORADO COLLEGE
SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY.

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO.
MARCH, 1903.

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THE EARLIEST LIFE OF MILTON.¹

BY PROFESSOR EDWARD S. PARSONS.

The following life of Milton, now printed for the first time, was found in 1889 by the Rev. Andrew Clark, LL.D., in a volume of Anthony Wood's papers in the Bodleian Library,² but, owing to the pressure of other work, he had no time to examine it. To his suggestion I owe the privilege of bringing it to public notice. The manuscript consists of five sheets (12 by 7½ in.), written on both sides, except the last, which is three-quarters filled on one side and on the other has only five lines of writing, carefully crossed out, which contain a first draft of a passage in the manuscript itself.³ The handwriting is of a type not uncommon in the latter part of the seventeenth century.⁴ The corrections are of such a sort as make it evident that the penman was the composer of the matter, or else that he was an amanuensis who, as he wrote, corrected according to the dictation of the one for whom he worked. It has not been possible as yet to discover the author.⁵ The manuscript was evidently written

¹ Reprinted from *The English Historical Review*, January, 1902.

² Wood MS. D. 4.

³ See p. 19, note 92.

⁴ A facsimile of a page of the manuscript is given on p. 3.

⁵ To relieve future students of this problem from unnecessary labour, the following list is given of contemporaries of Milton, known to be interested in him for one reason or another (with one or two others mentioned by Aubrey), *who did not write the manuscript* (according to the theory that penman and author are one): Aubrey, William Joyner (suggested by the antiquary Lovedale as Wood's 'friend': see Bliss's ed. of the *Fasti*, i. col. 480, note 5), Edward Phillips, Andrew Marvell, Daniel Skinner, Cyriack Skinner, Samuel Hartlib, Henry Oldenburg, Nathan Paget, M.D., Bishop Samuel Parker, Thomas Ellwood, John Thurlow, Abraham Hill, Philip Meadows, Richard Jones (first earl of Ranélagh), Edward Millington, Moses Pitt, Andrew Allam. The

between the death of Milton (1674) and the publication of Anthony Wood's 'Fasti Oxonienses,' appended to the 'Athenae Oxonienses' (1691).

In the 'Fasti' appeared Wood's biography of Milton, the first printed account of the poet's life. For its composition Wood had at least three sources of information, but in the opening sentence he speaks particularly of one.

"This year (1635) was incorporated Master of Arts John Milton; not that it appears so in the Register, for the reason I have told you in the Incorporations 1629,⁶ but from his own mouth to my friend, who was well acquainted with, and had from him, and from his Relations after his death, most of this account of his life and writings following."

Literary tradition, dating back well into the seventeenth century, asserts that his friend was John Aubrey.⁷ Wood seems to confirm this tradition when, in discussing Milton's 'Body of Divinity,' he designates it as the book 'which my friend calls "Idea Theologiae,"' the title Aubrey gives it in his own life of Milton,⁸ which Wood had before him in manuscript when he wrote the biography in question. But it seems strange, nevertheless, that Wood should have referred to Aubrey when the latter supplied him with less than ten per cent. of his material, while the manuscript now under discussion contributed about forty-five per cent.⁹ Moreover

editor has examined the numerous facsimiles in Sotheby's *Ramblings in the Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton*, the facsimile of the Cambridge manuscript, and also, by the courtesy of the British Museum authorities, Milton's *Commonplace Book*. There are great difficulties in the theory that the manuscript was written by an amanuensis. If it is correct, Nathan Paget, M.D., was perhaps the author.

⁶The 'reason' was that the 'registrar of the university,' John French, though 'a good scholar,' was a 'careless man,' and during his term of office omitted to record the incorporations of the Cantabrigians, of whom Milton was one.

⁷For a sketch of his relations with Wood, see Clark's *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, introd.

⁸*Ibid.* ii. 71 f.

⁹The rest of Wood's biography is mostly made up of matter from the autobiographical passages in Milton's prose works, a careful list of his writings, and Wood's own interpretation of Milton's acts and of national events.

At Naples which was his next remove, hee became acquainted with Marquis Marso, a learned Person, and so aged as to have bin for a temporay and intimate with Torquato Tasso, the famous Italian Heroic. This Nobleman oblidg'd him by very particular civilitie, accompanying him to see the rarities of the place, and paying him visits at his Lodging; Also sent him the testimony of a great esteem in this Districke.

Ut Mens, Forma, Decor Facies, Mos, si Pielas sic.

Non Anglus, resum hercle Anglus ipse foris.
Yet excus'd himselfe at parting for not having him alre dado
him more honour, by reason of his resolute owning his Religion; This
hee did whensoever by any ones enquiry occasion was offred; not
otherwise forward to enter upon discourses of that Nature. Nor did
hee decline its defense in the like circumstances even in Rome it self
on his returne thereto, though hee had bin advised by ^{from some friends} letters to Naples
that the English Scourts designed to do him much ill on that account.
But before his leaving Naples hee returned the Marquis an ^{copy of} ~~copy of~~ Poem ^{entitl'd} ~~entitl'd~~ ^{and} ~~and~~
acknowledgement of his great favors in an elegant Poem ^{with} ~~with~~ ^{and} ~~and~~
his other Latin Verse Poems.

From Rome hee revisited Florence for the sake of his charrming
friends there, and then proceeded to Venice, through the pleasant
country of Lombardy, and over the Alps, to Geneva, where hee livid in
familiar conversation with the famous Diodati. And thence through
France returned home, having with no ill management of his time, spent
about Fifteen moneths abroad.

Hee had by this time laid in a large stocke of knowledge which as he
desir'd not for the purchase of Wealth, ne either intended hee to
it as a Miser's hoard, to lyu on: Having therefore ~~over~~ ^{over} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~and~~
~~and~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~and~~
taken a house to bee full at full ease and quiet, gotten his
books, though hee set himselfe upon Compositions, tending either
to the publick benefit of Mankind and especially the advancement of
the advancement of the Commonwealth of Learning. And his first
labours were very ~~rea~~ ^{rea} ~~happily~~ dedicated to what had the chardes
place in his affections, and had bin ne small part of his Study, the
service of Religion.

Wood follows the chronological order of this manuscript, and very often its exact phraseology. May it not have been that Wood meant by his 'friend' the writer of the manuscript, but that, using his two main authorities together, he confused them for the moment when speaking of the 'Body of Divinity'?

The manuscript is certainly not the work of Aubrey, for neither the handwriting nor the style is his. He may perhaps have secured it from some friend for Wood, but this seems unlikely, because Aubrey himself made no use of it, although it contains information concerning long periods of Milton's life which Aubrey passes over almost in silence.

The autobiographical suggestions in the manuscript are few, but some traits of its author are more or less distinct. He was probably of Milton's own generation, an older man than Anthony Wood. He writes as one who had passed through the civil struggles, in which he was evidently an Independent, though one of Milton's type, sympathising deeply with real liberty but despising its counterfeit, believing that some of the puritan leaders had been 'abusers of that specious name.'¹⁰ He was a well-educated though not altogether scholarly man, with good, though not carefully practised, literary ability. He was probably not a clergyman; perhaps he was a physician. He was either himself one of Milton's friends or he was well acquainted with some who stood in close relations with the poet. He writes under the impulse of a deep personal interest in his subject, and Wood almost implicitly trusts his authority.¹¹

But whoever was its author, the biography is worthy of most careful study. It affords an illuminating glimpse into Wood's editorial methods. The way in which he uses the

¹⁰ See p. 19.

¹¹ If Nathan Paget, M.D., is the author, the manuscript has a peculiar interpretative value. Dr. Paget was Milton's friend, perhaps, as early as 1640, and was his physician during the latter part of the poet's life. It was at Dr. Paget's suggestion that Milton married, as his third wife, Elizabeth Minshull, the doctor's cousin. The appointment of Dr. Paget in 1650 to the position of physician to the Tower is evidence as to his puritan sympathies.

manuscript, sometimes quoting it *verbatim*, then again qualifying its assertions, omitting some passages and adding others of his own composition to make an impression opposite to that produced by the manuscript itself, is highly entertaining. But, more than this, the manuscript throws light upon several interesting questions in Milton's biography. It adds confirmation to the theory of Joseph Hunter and Professor Masson that the poet's grandfather lived at Stanton St. John, in Oxfordshire—a conjecture which was proved to be correct by Hyde Clarke's examination of the records of the Scriveners' Company. By stating the amount of Richard Milton's income the manuscript makes it evident how he could pay the excessive fines imposed upon him for recusancy. The manuscript is closely related to Richardson's life of Milton. It confirms Richardson's report of Milton's relations with Sir William Davenant, and mentions, what Richardson also reports, the request of the government of Charles II that Milton should become its Latin secretary, as he had been Cromwell's. Moreover the manuscript has the double distinction of being, first, the earliest biography of Milton ever written,¹² and, secondly, the one seventeenth-century biography of the poet in which he is treated with entire sympathy.

EDWARD S. PARSONS.

THE LIFE OF MR¹³ JOHN MILTON.

To write the Lives of Single Persons is then a commendable Undertaking, when by it some Moral benefit is design'd to Mankind. Hee who has that in aim, will not imploy his time or Pen, to record the history of bad men, how successful or great soever they may have bin; unless by relating thir Tragical ends (which, through the just Judgment of the Almighty, most commonly overtakes them) or by discriminating, with a due note of Infamy, whatever is criminal in thir actions, hee warn the Reader to flee thir example.

¹² Aubrey's life of Milton (in the *Brief Lives*), even if written earlier, cannot be strictly called a biography; it is merely a collection of biographical jottings.

¹³ The title is alvays used when the poet's name is mentioned in the manuscript.

But to celebrate, whether the Guifts or Graces, the natural Endowments, or aequir'd laudable Habitts of Persons eminent in thir Generations, while it gives glory to God, the bestower of all good things, and (by furnishing a Modell) tends to the edification of our Brethren, is little less than the duty of every Christian: Which seems acknowleg'd by the late Supervisors of our Common Prayer;¹⁴ when they added to the Collect for the Church militant, a Clause commemorating the *Saints and Servants of God departed this life in his Fear.*

That Hee who is the subject of this diseourse, made it his endeavor to bee thought worthy of that high Character, will, I make no doubt, appeer to the impartial Reader from the particulars, w^{ch} I shall with all sincerity relate of his life and Works.

The learned Mr John Milton, born about the year sixteen hundred and eight, is said to bee descended from an antient Knightly Family in Buckinghamshire,¹⁵ that gave name to the chiefe place of thir abode. However that bee, his Father was entitled to a true Nobility in the Apostle Pauls Heraldry; having bin disinherited about ye beginning of Queen Elizabeths reign¹⁶ by his Father a Romanist, who had an estate of five hundred pound¹⁷ a yeer at Stainton St. John in Oxfordshire, for reading the Bible.¹⁸ Upon this occasion he

¹⁴ Revision of 1661-2.

¹⁵ Wood gives Aubrey's opinion and his own when he says the poet was 'descended from those of his name who had lived beyond all record at Milton, near Halton and Thame, in Oxfordshire.' Phillips's statement is: 'He is said to have been descended of an ancient family of Miltons of Milton, near Abingdon, in Oxfordshire, where they had been a long time seated.' Joseph Hunter discovered the record of a John de Milton in Buckinghamshire in 1428. (*Milton: a Sheaf of Gleanings*, p. 6.)

¹⁶ This would seem to make the life of Milton's father somewhat longer than Professor Masson conjectures. The latter supposes he was born about 1562 or 1563. However, the significance of *about* is elastic.

¹⁷ See the reference to this passage, above, p. 5.

¹⁸ Cf. Aubrey's 'Quaere—he found a Bible in English, in his chamber' (Clark's *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ii. 62).

came yong to London, and beeing taken care of by a relation¹⁹ of his a Scrivenor, hee became free of that profession; and was so prosperous in it, and the Consortship of a prudent virtuous Wife, as to bee able to breed up in a liberal manner, and provide a competency for two Sons, and a Daughter: After which, out of a moderation not usual with such as have tasted the sweets of gain, and perhaps naturally inclin'd rather to a retir'd life by his addiction to Music (for his skill in which hee stands registred among the Composers of his time) hee gave over his trade, and went to live in the Country.

This his eldest Son had his institution to learning both under public, and private Masters; under whom, through the pregnancy of his Parts, & his indefatigable industry (sitting up constantly at his Study till midnight) hee profited exceedingly; and early in that time wrote several grave and religious Poems, and paraphras'd some of Davids Psalms.²⁰

At about eighteen yeers of age²¹ hee went to Christs College in Cambridge; where for his diligent study, his performance of public exercises, and for choice Verses, written on the occasions usually solemniz'd by the Universities, as well for his virtuous and sober life, hee was in high esteem wth the best of his time.

After taking his degree of Master of Arts hee left the University, and, having no design to take upon him any of the particular learned Professions, apply'd himselfe for five

¹⁹ Aubrey says, 'brought up by a friend of his; was not an apprentice.' (Hyde Clarke has shown that this latter statement is incorrect.) Phillips states that the poet's father took up the profession of a scrivener 'by the advice and assistance of an intimate friend of his, eminent in that calling.'

²⁰ At this paragraph the dependence of Wood upon the manuscript begins. He transfers its phraseology to the Cambridge period and says: 'By this his indefatigable study, he profited exceedingly, wrot then several poems, paraphras'd some of David's psalms'; and adds, using material taken from the next paragraph of the manuscript, 'performed the collegiate and academical exercises to the admiration of all, and was esteemed to be a virtuous and sober person.'

²¹ Wood says 'at fifteen years of age.' The poet was actually sixteen years and two months.

yeers, at his Fathers house in the Country, to the diligent reading of the best Classic Authors, both Divine & Humane; sometimes repairing to London, from w^{ch} hee was not farr distant, for learning Musie and the Mathematics.²²

Beeing now become Master of what useful knowledge was to bee had in Books, and competently skill'd amongst others, in the Italian language, hee made choice of that Country to travel into; in order to polish his Conversation, & learn to know Men. And having receiv'd instructions how to demean himselfe with that wise observing Nation, as well as how to shape his Journy, from S^r Henry Wotton, whose esteem of him appears in an elegant letter to him upon that Subject, hee took his way²³ through France. In this²⁴ Kingdom,²⁵ the manners & Genius of which hee had in no admiration, hee made small stay, nor contracted any Aequaintance; save that, with the recommendation of Lord Seudamore,²⁶ our²⁷ Kings Ambassador at Paris, hee waited on Hugo Grotius, who was there under that Character from the Crown of Sweden.

Hasting to Italy by the way of Nice, & passing through Genua Lighorn & Pisa hee arriv'd at Florence. Here hee liv'd²⁸ two months in familiar & elegant conversation with the choice Witts of that Citty and was admitted by them to their private Academies; an Oeconomy much practis'd among the Virtuosi of those parts, for the communication of Polite literature, as well as for the cementing of friendships. The reputation hee had with them they express'd in several Commendatory Verses, w^{ch} are extant in his book of Poems.²⁹

²² The manuscript and Wood draw their material for this and succeeding paragraphs covering the period of travel from Milton's *Defensio Secunda*, but Wood very often adopts the phraseology of the manuscript in preference to Milton's own words.

²³ Substituted for 'Journy.'

²⁴ Substituted for 'wch.'

²⁵ 'hee made no stay, having' crossed out.

²⁶ 'hee waited' crossed out.

²⁷ Perhaps it may be inferred from this that the writer had lived in the time of Charles I.

²⁸ Substituted for 'pass'd.'

²⁹ The manuscript here closely follows the *Defensio Secunda*; Wood follows the manuscript.

From Florence hee went to Roime, where, as in all places, hee spent his time in the choicest company; and amongst others there, in that of Lucas Holstein.³⁰

At Naples, which was his next remove, hee became acquainted wth Marquis Manso, a learned Person, and so aged as to have bin Contemporary and intimate wth Torquato Tasso, the famous Italian Heroic. This Nobleman oblig'd him by very particular civilities, accompanying him to see the rarities of the place, and paying him Visitts at his lodging; Also sent him the testimony of a great esteem in this Distich

Ut Mens, Forma, Decor Facies, Mos, si Pietas sic,
Non Anglus, verum herclē Angelus ipse fores.

Yet excus'd himselfe at parting for not having bin able to do him more honour, by reason of his resolute owning his Religion: This hee did whensoever by any ones enquiry occasion was offred; not otherwise forward to enter upon discourses of that Nature. Nor did hee decline its defense in the like circumstances even in Rome it self on his return thether; though hee had bin advis'd by letters from som friends to Naples, that the English Jesuits design'd to do him mischief on that account. Before his leaving Naples hee return'd the Marquis an³¹ acknowledgement of his great favors in an elegant Copy of Verses entitl'd Mansus w^{ch} is extant amongst his other latin Poems.³²

From Rome hee revisited Florence for the sake of his charming friends there; and then proceeded to Veniee where he shipp'd what books he had bought³³ & through the delicious³⁴ country of Lombardy, and over the Alps to Geneva,

³⁰ Following the name, but crossed out, is 'Library Keeper at the Vatican.' A letter above the line and before 'Library' refers to the margin, where are the words, also crossed out, 'For I am not certain that he was the library keeper.' [Holstein was the pope's librarian from 1636 to 1661.]

³¹ Substituted for 'a large.'

³² The last part of the sentence originally read 'an elegant Poem wch is amongst his other latin Verses.' Wood borrows most of this paragraph *verbatim*.

³³ The clause 'where . . . bought' is inserted above the line.

³⁴ Substituted for 'pleasant.'

where hee liv'd in familiar conuersation with the famous Diodati. Thence through France hee returnd home, having, with no ill management of his time, spent about fifteen moneths abroad.

Hee had by this time laid in a large stock of knowlege, whieh as he design'd not for the purchase of Wealth, so neither intended hee³⁵ it, as a Misers hoard, to ly useless: Having therefore³⁶ taken a house, to bee³⁷ at full ease and quiet, & gotten his books about him, hee sett himselfe upon Compositions, tending either to the public benefit of Mankind, and especially his Countrymen, or to the advancement of the Commonwealth of Learning. And his first labours were very happily dedicated to, what had the chiefest place in his affections, and had bin no small part of his Study, the service of Religion.³⁸

It was now the Year 1640: And the Nation was much divided upon the Controversies about Church Government, between the Prelatical party, and the Dissenters, or, as they were commonly then calld, Puritans. Hee had study'd Religion in the Bible and the best Authors, had strictly liv'd up to it's³⁹ Rules, and had no temporal concern depending upon any Hierarchy, to render him suspected, either to himselfe, or others, as one that writt for Interest: and therefore⁴⁰ with great boldness, & Zeal offer'd his Judgment,⁴¹ first in

³⁵ ' that ' crossed out.

³⁶ ' gotten his Books about him ' crossed out.

³⁷ ' full ' crossed out.

³⁸ Most of this paragraph is omitted by Wood.

³⁹ Usually the apostrophe is not used in the manuscript, except to mark elision.

⁴⁰ Substituted for ' thence.'

⁴¹ This passage is too eulogistic of Milton for Wood. He drops out the praises and inserts at the beginning a long section discussing Milton's relation to the struggle. A part of it is worth quoting as showing Wood's attitude towards Milton's political views. 'Taking part with the Independents, he became a great Antimonarchist, a bitter enemy to K. Ch. I, and at length arrived to that monstrous and unparalleled height of profligate impudence, as in print to justify the most execrable Murder of him the best of Kings . . . we find him a Commonwealths

two *Books of Reformation*⁴² by way of address to a friend, And then in answer to a Bishop hee wrift of *Prelatical Episcopacy* and *The Reason of Church Governmt*. After that⁴³ *Animadversions upon the Remonstrants defence* (the work of Bishop Hall) against *Smeectymnyus*⁴⁴ and *Apology for those Animadversions*.

In this while, his manner of Settlement fitting him for the recepition of a Wife, hee in a moneths time (according to his practice of not wasting that preecious Talent) courted, marryed, and brought home from Forresthall⁴⁵ near Oxford a Daughter of Mr Powell. But shee, that was very Yong, & had bin bred in a family of plenty and freedom, being not well pleas'd with his reserv'd manner of life, within a few days left him, and went back⁴⁶ into the Country with her Mother: Nor though hee sent severall pressing invitations could hee prevayl wth her to return, till about foure yeers after, when Oxford was surrendr'd (the nighness of her Fathers house to that Garrison having for the most part of the meantime hindred any communication between them) shee of her own accord came, & submitted to him; pleading that her Mother had bin the inciter of her to that frowardness.⁴⁷ Hee in the Interval,⁴⁸ who had entred into that

man, a hater of all things that looked towards a single person, a great reproacher of the Universities, scholastical degrees, decency, and uniformity in the Church.'

⁴² 'And then' crossed out.

⁴³ Substituted for 'After that for a first and second.'

⁴⁴ Wood has: '*Animadversions upon the Remonstrants defence against Smeectymnus*. Lond. 1641. qu. Which *Rem. defencē* was written (as 'tis said) by Dr. Jos. Hall, Bishop of Exeter.'

⁴⁵ An error for Forest-hill; a mistake, as Mr. F. Madan of the Bodleian Library suggests, not likely to have been made by an Oxford man.

⁴⁶ 'Went back' substituted for 'return'd.'

⁴⁷ Wood's use of this passage is a good example of the literal way in which he borrowed much of the manuscript. 'It mus. now be known,' Wood says, 'that after his settlement, upon his return from his Travels, he in a month's time courted, married, and brought home to his house in London a Wife from Forsthill lying between Halton and Oxford, named Mary the Daughter of Mr. —— Powell of that place Gent. But

State for the end design'd by God & Nature, and was then in the full vigor of his Manhood, could ill bear the disappointment hee mett with by her obstinate absenting: And therefore thought upon a Divorce, that hee might be free to marry another; concerning which hee also was in treaty. The lawfulness and expedience of this, duly regulat in order to all those purposes, for which Marriage was at first instituted; had upon full consideration & reading good Authors bin formerly his Opinion: And the necessity of justifying himselfe now concurring with the opportunity, acceptable to him, of instructing others in a point of so great concern⁴⁹ to the peace and preservation of Families; and so likely to prevent temptations as well as mischiefs,⁵⁰ hee first writt *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, then *Colasterion*, and after *Tetrachordon*:⁵¹ In these⁵² hee taught the right use and design of Marriage; then the Original & practise of Divorcees amongst the Jews, and⁵³ show'd that our Savior, in those foure places of the Evangelists,⁵⁴ meant not the

she, who was very young, and had been bred in a family of plenty and freedom, being not well pleased with her Husband's retired manner of life, did shortly after leave him and went back in the Country with her Mother. Whereupon, tho he sent divers pressing invitations, yet he could not prevail with her to come back, till about four years after when the Garrison of *Oxon* was surrendered (the nighness of her Father's house to which having for the most part of the meantime hindered any communication between them) she of her own accord returned and submitted to him, pleading that her Mother had been the chief promoter of her frowardness.'

⁴⁹ 'in the Interval' read originally 'in this meantime.' 'Interval' was substituted for 'meantime,' and 'this' changed to 'the.'

⁵⁰ 'of so great concern' substituted for 'so necessary.'

⁵¹ 'as well as mischiefs' substituted for 'to Sin.'

⁵² Wood changes the order of the last two pamphlets; the two were in fact published the same day, March 4, 1644-5.

⁵³ Substituted for 'which.'

⁵⁴ 'by expounding after other correct [? the word is illegible] divines the foure passages in the Evangelists' obliterated and 'show'd' substituted.

⁵⁵ It is not likely that a clergyman would be ignorant that three of the 'foure places' were outside the Evangelists. Milton discusses (1) Genesis i. 27, 28, with ii. 18, 23, 24; (2) Deut. xxiv. 1, 2; (3) Matt. v. 31, 32, with xix. 3-11; (4) 1 Cor. vii. 10-16.

abrogating but rectifying the abuses of it;⁵⁵ rendring to that purpose another Sense of the word Fornication (and w^{ch} is also the Opinion amongst others of Mr Selden in his *Uxor Hebraea*) then what is commonly received. Martin Bucers Judgment in this matter hee likewise translated into English. The Assembly of Divines then sitting at Westminster, though formerly obliged by his learned Pen in the defense of Smectymnus, and other thir controversies⁵⁶ with the Bishops, now impatient of having the Clergies⁵⁷ Jurisdiction, as they reckoned⁵⁸ it, invaded, instead of answering, or disproving what those books⁵⁹ had asserted, caus'd him to be summon'd⁶⁰ for them before the Lords. But that house, whether approving⁶¹ the Doctrine, or not favoring his Accusers, soon dismiss'd him.⁶²

This was the mending of a decay in the Superstructure, and had for object onely the well beeing of private Persons, or at most of Families; His small Treatise of *Education*, address'd to Mr Hartlib, was the laying a Foundation also of Public Weale: In it hee prescrib'd an easy & delightful method for training up Gentry in such a manner to all sorts of Literature, as that they might at the same time by like degrees advance in Virtue, and Abilities to serve their Country; subjoyning directions for their attayning other necessary, or Ornamental accomplishments: And it seem'd hee design'd in some measure to put this in practise. Hee had from his first settling taken care of instructing his two Nephews by his Sister Phillips, and, as it happen'd, the Sonn of some friend: Now hee took a large house, where the Earle of Barrimore, sent by his Aunt the Lady Ranalagh, Sr Thomas

⁵⁵ ‘among the Jews’ crossed out.

⁵⁶ The phrase ‘other thir controversies’ is quoted *verbatim* by Wood.

⁵⁷ Originally written ‘the Jurisdiction’; ‘the’ was changed to ‘their,’ and finally ‘the Clergies’ substituted.

⁵⁸ Substituted for ‘term’d.’

⁵⁹ ‘Those books’ substituted for ‘he.’

⁶⁰ ‘Caus’d . . . summon’d’ substituted for ‘summon’d him.’

⁶¹ Substituted for ‘not disliking.’

⁶² Wood quotes this passage almost *verbatim*, as he does the next section after the words ‘Public Weale.’

Gardiner of Essex, and others were under his Tuition:⁶³ But whether it were that the tempers of our Gentry would not bear the strictness of his Discipline, or for what other reason, hee continued that Course but a while.

His next public work, and which seem'd to bee his particular Provinee, who was so jealous in promoting Knowledge, was *Arcopagitica*, written in manner of an Oration, to vindicate the freedom of the Press from the Tyranny of Licensers; Who either inslav'd to the Dictates of those that put them into Office, or prejudic'd by thir own Ignorance,⁶⁴ are wont to hinder ye comming out of any thing⁶⁵ whieh is not consonant to the common receiv'd Opinions, and by that means deprive the publie of the benefit of many usefull labours.

Hitherto all his Writings had for subjeet the propagation of Religion or⁶⁶ Learning, or the bettering some more private concerns of Mankind: In Political matters hee had publish'd nothing.⁶⁷ And it was now the time of the King's coming upon his Tryal, when some of the Presbyterian Ministers, out of malignity to the Independent Party,⁶⁸ who had supplanted them, more than from any principles of Loyalty, asserted clamorously in their Sermons & Writings the Privilege of Kings from all accountableness. Or (to speak in the Lan-

⁶³ Wood's rearrangement and punctuation of the sentence that he borrows from the manuscript here, as Professor Masson points out (*Life of Milton*, iii. 658), obscures the meaning: 'And to this end that he might put it in practice, he took a larger house, where the Earle of Barrimore sent by his Aunt the Lady Rannclagh, Sir Thomas Gardiner of Essex, to be there with others (besides his two Nephews) under his Tuition.' The manuscript makes it clear that Sir Thomas Gardiner was one of Milton's pupils, as Professor Masson believes.

⁶⁴ Wood groups these suggestions under the phrase 'for several reasons.'

⁶⁵ * new or ' crossed out.

⁶⁶ Substituted for ' and.'

⁶⁷ Wood carelessly writes, ' Hitherto we find him only to have published political things.'

⁶⁸ Wood varies this, ' which he took to be only their malignity against the Independents,' &c.

guage of this⁶⁹ time) Non-resistance & Passive Obedience to bee the Doctrine of all the Reformed Churches. This general Thesis, which incourag'd all manner of Tyranny,⁷⁰ he opposed by good Arguments, and the Authorities of several eminently learned Protestants in a Book titled *The Tenure of Kings*, but without any particular application to the dispute then on foot in this Nation.

Upon the change of Government which succeeded the King's death hee was, without any seeking of his, by the means of a private Acquaintance, who was a member of the new Council of State, chosen Latin Secretary. In this public Station his abilities & the acuteness of his parts, which had lyen hid in his privacy, were soon taken notice of, and hee was pitch'd upon to elude the Artifice⁷¹ of Ἐπικῶν Βασιλείη.⁷² This hee had no sooner perform'd answerably to the expectation from his Witt & Pen, in Ἐπονοκλάτης, but another Adventure expected him.⁷³

Salmasius a Professor in Holland, who had in a large Treatise, not long before, maintain'd the parity of Church Governors against Episcopacy, put out *Defensio Caroli Regis*, and in it, amongst other absurdities, justify'd (as indeed it was unavoidable in the defense of that Cause, which was

⁶⁹ Wood changes the word 'this' to 'that,' perhaps because the doctrine became antiquated with the Revolution of 1688. The manuscript is certainly accurate for the time it is written, as the doctrine was most prominent during the latter part of the reign of Charles II and during the reign of James II.

⁷⁰ Wood's version is, 'which as he conceiv'd did encourage all manner of Tyranny.'

⁷¹ Wood's version, 'the artifice (so it was then by the Faction called).'

⁷² The Greek words are thus pointed in the manuscript.

⁷³ Wood's version, 'Wherupon he soon after published . . . *Iconoclastes* . . . which being published to the horror of all sober men, nay even to the Presbyterians, yet by the then dominant party it was esteem'd an excellent piece, & perform'd answerably to the expectation of his Wit and Pen.' Wood goes on to state the effect the book had on Milton's position in the eyes of the crown at the Restoration, and the fact that, in company with a volume by John Goodwin, it was called in by proclamation in 1660.

styl'd Bellum Episcopale) to the contradiction of his former Book, the pretensions of the Bishops.⁷⁴ Him Mr. Milton by the order of his Masters answered in⁷⁵ *Defensio pro populo Anglicano*;⁷⁶ both in more correct Latin, to the shame of the others Grammership, and by much better reasoning. For Salmasius beeing a Forrainer, & grossly ignorant of our Laws & Constitution (which in all Nations are the respective distinguishing Principles of Government) either brought no arguments from thence, or such onely (and by him not seldom mistaken or misapply'd) as were partially suggested to him by those whose cause he had undertaken; and which, having⁷⁷ during the many yeers of our divisions been often ventilated, receiv'd an easy solution. Nor had hee given proof of deeper learning in that which is properly call'd Polities, while hee made use of trite Instances, as that of the Government of Bees, & such like to prove the preeminency of Monarchy: and all along so confounded it with Tyranny (as also hee did the Episcopal with the Papal Government) that hee might better have pass'd for a Defender of the grand Signor, and the Council of Trent, then of a lawful King and a Reformed Church. For this and reneging his former Principles hee was by Mr Milton facetiously expos'd: Nor did he ever reply, though hee liv'd three years after.⁷⁸

But what he wisely declin'd, the further provoking such an Adversary, or persisting to defend a Cause hee so ill understood, was attempted in *Clamor Regij Sanguinis* &c: in which

⁷⁴ Wood tones down this passage, omitting some of the matter derogatory to Salmasius, and finishing with 'wherein (in the *Defensio*) he justified several matters, as Milton conceived, to the contradiction of his former book.'

⁷⁵ Substituted for 'by.'

⁷⁶ The manuscript usually gives the words of Latin titles in the English order.

⁷⁷ 'been Ven,' crossed out.

⁷⁸ A posthumous reply by Salmasius appeared in 1660, seven years after his death. Wood omits almost all of this paragraph after the name of Milton's book (the *Defensio*), and inserts a passage giving facts about the burning of the pamphlet at Toulouse, its seizure at the Restoration, and the attacks upon Salmasius in the *Mercurius Politicus*.

Salmasius was hugely extoll'd, and Mr Milton as falsely defam'd.⁷⁹ The Anonymous Author, Mr Milton, who had by his last book gain'd great esteem and many friends among the Learned abroad, by whom, and by the public Ministers comming hether hee was often visited, soon discover'd to bee Morus, formerly a Professor & Minister at Geneva, then living in Holland. Him, in *Secunda Defensio pro populo Anglicano* he render'd ridiculous for his trivial and weak Treatise under so Tragical a title, conteyning little of Argument, which had not before suffr'd with Salmasius. And because it consisted most of Railing & false Reproches, hee, in no unpleasant manner, from very good testimonies retorted upon him the true history of his notorious Impurities, both at Geneva, and Leyden. Himselfe hee also, by giving a particular ingenuous account of his whole life Vindicated from those scurrilous aspersions, with which that Book had indevor'd to blemish him:⁸⁰ Adding perhaps thereby also reputation to the cause hee defended, at least, with impartial Readers, when they should reflect upon the different qualifications of the respective Champions. And when Morus afterwards strove to clear himselfe of beeing the Author, and to represent Mr Milton as an injurious Defamer in that particular, hee in *Defensio pro se* by very good testimonies, and other circumstantial proofs justify'd his having fixd it there, and made good sport of the others shallow Evasions.⁸¹

While he was thus employ'd his Eysight totally faild him; not through any immediat or sudden Judgment, as his Adversaries insultingly affirm'd; but from a weakness which his

⁷⁹ Wood's version is, 'Salmasius was highly extol'd in it, and Milton had his just Character given therein.'

⁸⁰ Wood uses this passage in his description of Milton's *Pro se Defensio*. It belongs where the manuscript inserts it, with the *Defensio Secunda*, which contains the most famous of the autobiographical passages.

⁸¹ The writer does not seem to be acquainted with the fact that the author of the *Clamor Regii Sanguinis* was Peter du Moulin, D.D., afterwards prebendary of Canterbury Cathedral, who in 1670 acknowledged the authorship of the book. Aubrey, making his notes on the life of Milton about 1680, knew the fact; and Wood also states it.

hard nightly study in his youth had first occasion'd, and which⁸² by degrees had for some time before depriv'd him of the use of one Ey: And the Issues and Seatons, made use of to save or retrieve that, were thought by drawing away the Spirits, which should have supply'd the Optic Vessells, to have hasten'd the loss of the other.⁸³ Hee was indeed advis'd by his Physitians of the danger, in his condition, attending so great intentness as that work requir'd. But hee, who was resolute in going through with what upon good consideration hee at any time design'd, and to whom the love of Truth and his Country was⁸⁴ dearer then all things, would not for any danger decline thir defense.

Nor did his Darkness discourage or disable him from prosecuting, with the help of Amanuenses,⁸⁵ the former design of his calmer Studies. And hee had now more leisure, being dispens'd with, by having a Substitute allowd him, and sometimes Instructions sent home to him, from attending in his office⁸⁶ of Secretary.⁸⁷

It was now that hee began that laborious work of amassing out of all the Classic Authors, both in Prose and Verse, a⁸⁸ *Latin Thesaurus* to the emendation of that done by Stephanus; Also the composing *Paradise Lost* And the framing a Body of Divinity out of the Bible: All which, notwithstanding the several Calamities befalling him in his fortunes, hee finish'd after the Restoration: As also the *British history* down to the Conquest, *Paradise regained*, *Samson Agonistes*, a Tragedy *Logica & Accedence commenc'd Grammer* & had begun a *Greek Thesaurus*; having scarce left any part of learning unimprov'd by him: As in *Paradise lost & Regained* hee more especially taught all Virtue.

⁸² 'had' crossed out.

⁸³ This somewhat technical discussion suggests that the author may have been a physician. Later he gives the technical name of the trouble, 'Gutta Serena' (p. 21). Dr. Paget was probably Milton's physician at this time.

⁸⁴ Substituted for 'were.'

⁸⁵ 'his' crossed out.

⁸⁶ Substituted for 'place.'

⁸⁷ From this and the next paragraph Wood borrows extensively.

⁸⁸ 'that' crossed out.

In these Works, and the instruction of some Youth or other at the intreayt of his friends, hee in great Serenity spent his time & expir'd no less calmly in the Yeare 1674.

He had naturally a Sharp Witt, and steddy Judgment; which helps toward attaining Learning hee improv'd by an indefatigable attention to his Study; and was supported in that by a Temperance, all ways observ'd by him, but in his Youth even with great Nicety. Yet did hee not reckon this Talent but as intrusted with him; and therefore dedicated all his labours to the glory of God, & some public Good; Neither binding himselfe to any of the gainfull Professions, nor having any worldly Interest for aim in what he taught. Hee made no address or Court for that emploiment of Latin Secretary, though his eminent fitness for it appears by his printed Letters of that time.⁸⁹ And hee was so farr from whilst in his first and second *Defensio pro populo Anglicano* he was an Advocate for Liberty against Tyranny & Oppression (which to him seem'd the case, as well by the public Declara-tions on the one side [and hee was a Stranger to thir private Counsels⁹¹] as by the Arguments on the other side, which run mainly upon the justifying of exorbitant & lawless power) hee took care all along strictly to define, and persuade to true Liberty, and especially in very solemn Perorations at the close of those Books; where hee also, little less than Prophetically, denounc'd the Punishments due to the abusers of that Specious name. And as hee was not link'd to one Party by self Interest,⁹² so neither was hee divided from the

⁸⁹ Probably a reference to a pirated edition of Milton's *State Letters*, printed in 1676; or perhaps to the volume of *Familiar Letters* (*Epistolae Familiarum Liber Unus*), printed in 1674.

beeing concern'd in the corrupt designs of his Masters,⁹⁰ that

⁹⁰ There is evident sympathy here with the attitude which Milton took towards the puritan government in its later days, with the mood in which he wrote *A Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth*.

⁹¹ An explicit statement of Milton's exclusion from the inner circle of the puritan government.

⁹² On the back of the last page are five lines of writing carefully crossed out, which were evidently the first draft of the passage, 'Perorations . . . self Interest.' They are as follows:—

other by Animosity; but was forward to do any of them good Offices, when their particular Cases afforded him ground to appear on thir behalf. And especially, if on the score of Witt or Learning, they could lay claim to his peculiar Patronage. Of which were instances, among others, the Grand child of the famous Spence,⁹³ a Papist suffering in his concerns in Ireland, and Sr William Davenant when taken Prisoner,⁹⁴ for both whom he procur'd relief.⁹⁵

This his Sincerity, and disentanglement of any private ends with his Sentiments relating to the Public, proceeded no doubt from a higher Principle, but was in great part supported,⁹⁶ and temptations to the contrary avoided by his constant Frugality; which enabl'd him at first to live within compass of the moderate Patrimony his Father left him, and afterwards to bear with patience, and no discomposure⁹⁷ of his way of living, the great losses which befell him in his Fortunes. Yett he was not sparing to buy good Books: of which hee left a fair Collection; and was generous in relieving the wants of his Friends. Of his⁹⁸ Gentleness and Humanity hee

‘ Perorations at the close of those Books at the close of those
so fermly & denounc'd
Books where hee denounc'd little less then Prophetically the Punish-
wch due to
ments often befell the abusers of that Specions name whether by
enlarging serve
stretching it to licenciousness or by inverting it to ye corrupt ends of
Amb[ition] And as hee was not link'd to one Party by selfe.’

⁹³ A fact not mentioned elsewhere.

⁹⁴ An interesting confirmation of the tradition related by Jonathan Richardson (*Explanatory Notes on ‘Paradise Lost,’* pp. lxxxix-xc). Richardson says he received the information from Thomas Betterton, through Alexander Pope, that at the Restoration, when Milton was in danger of losing his life, ‘t was Sir William Davenant obtained his remission, in return for his own life procured by Milton's interest when himself was under condemnation, anno 1650. A life was owing to Milton (Davenant's), and ‘t was paid nobly, Milton's for Davenant's at Davenant's intercession.’

⁹⁵ Wood omits this and the preceding paragraph.

⁹⁶ ‘ by his Frugality’ crossed out.

⁹⁷ ‘ no discomposure’ substituted for ‘ small alteration.’

⁹⁸ ‘ genero’[sity] crossed out.

likewise gave signal proof in receiving home, and living in good accord till her death with his first wife, after shee had so obstinately absented from him: During which time, as neither in any other Scene of his life, was hee blemish'd with the least Unchastity.

From so Christian a Life, so great Learning, and so unbyass'd a search after Truth it is not probable any errors in Doctrine should spring. And therefore his Judgment in his Body of Divinity concerning some speculative points, differing perhaps from that commonly reeived, (and which is thought to bee the reason that never was printed⁹⁹) neither ought rashly to bee condemned, and however himselfe not to bee uncharitably censur'd: who by beeing a constant¹⁰⁰ Champion for the liberty of Opining, expressd much Candor towards others. But that this Age is insensible of the great obligations it has to him, is too apparent in that hee has no better a Pen to celebrate his Memory.

Hee was of a moderate Stature, and well proportion'd, of a ruddy Complexion, light brown Hair, & handsome Features; save that his Eyes were none of the quiekest. But his blindness, which proceeded from a Gutta Serena,¹⁰¹ added no further blemish to them. His deportment was sweet and affable; and his Gate erect & Manly, bespeaking Courage and undauntedness (or a Nil concire) On which account hee wore a Sword while hee had his Sight, and was skill'd in using it. Hee had an excellent Ear, and could bear a part both in Voeal & Instrumental Music. His moderate Estate left him by his Father was through his good Oeconomy sufficient to maintain him. Out of his Secretary's Salary hee had sav'd two thousand pounds, which being logd'd in the Excise, and that Bank failing upon the Restoration, hee utterly lost,¹⁰² Besides whieh, and the ceasing of his Impleiment hee had no damage by that¹⁰³ change of Affairs.¹⁰⁴ For hee early sued

⁹⁹ The book was not printed until 1825.

¹⁰⁰ Read originally ' so constant a.'

¹⁰¹ This suggests the physician's technical knowledge. Richardson in 1734 gives the same name to the trouble (p. iii.).

¹⁰² Down to this point Wood quotes the paragraph almost *verbatim*.

¹⁰³ Substituted for 'the.'

¹⁰⁴ Substituted for 'Government.'

out his Pardon;¹⁰⁵ and by means of that, when the Serjeant of the house of Commons had officiously seisd him, was quickly set at liberty. Hee had too at the first return of the Court in good manners¹⁰⁶ left his house in Petty France, which had a door into the Park;¹⁰⁷ and in all other things demeaning himselfe peaceably, was so farr from being reckon'd disaffected, that hee was visited at his house on Bun-hill by a Chief Officer of State, and desir'd to employ his Pen on thir behalfe.¹⁰⁸ And when the Subject of Divorce was under consideration with the Lords, upon the account of the Lord Ross, hee was consulted by an eminent¹⁰⁹ Member of that house.¹¹⁰ By the great fire in 1666 hee had a house in Bread street burnt: w^{ch} was all the Real Estate hee had. Hee rendred his Studies and various Works more easy & pleasant by allotting them thir several portions of the day. Of these the time friendly to the Muses fell to his Poetry; And hee waking early (as is the use of temperate men) had commonly a good Stock of Verses ready against his Amanuensis came; which if it happened to bee later then ordinary, hee would complain, Saying *hee wanted to bee milkd.*¹¹¹ The Evenings hee likewise spent in reading some choicer Poets, by way of refreshment after the days toyl, and to store his Fancy against Morning. Besides his ordinary lectures out of the Bible and the¹¹² best Commentators on the week day. That was his sole subjeet on Sundays. And Davids Psalms were in esteem

¹⁰⁵ Milton was set at liberty in December 1660. Professor Masson conjectures that he was arrested between 13 Sept. and 6 Nov. The poet must then have secured his pardon before the last-named date. Charles II came to the throne in May, and the order for Milton's arrest was issued 16 June. He was still at large 13 August (Masson, vi. 184-95).

¹⁰⁶ 'in good manners' substituted for 'prudently.'

¹⁰⁷ The omission of the name of the park suggests that the writer was a Londoner.

¹⁰⁸ Richardson embodied this tradition in his introduction to Explanatory Notes on *Paradise Lost*, p. c.; Professor Masson rejects it.

¹⁰⁹ 'an eminent' substituted for 'no mean.'

¹¹⁰ Wood inserts this passage earlier, in his discussion of Milton's Divorce tracts.

¹¹¹ A remark of Milton not found elsewhere.

¹¹² Substituted for 'its.'

with him above all Poetry, The Youths that hee instrueted from time to time servd him often as Amanuenses, and some elderly persons were glad for the benefit of his learned Conversation, to perform that Offiee.¹¹³ His first Wife dy'd a while after his blindness seizd him, leaving him three Daughters, that liv'd to bee Women. Hee marry'd two more, whereof one surviv'd him. Hee dy'd in a fitt of the Gout, but with so little pain or Emotion, that the time of his expiring was not perceiv'd by those in the room.¹¹⁴ And though hee had bin long troubl'd with that disease, insomuch that his Knuckles were all callous, yet was hee not ever observ'd to be very impatient. Hee had this Elogy in common with the Patriarchs¹¹⁵ and Kings of Israel that he was gather'd to his people;¹¹⁶ for hee happen'd to bee bury'd in Cripplegate where about thirty yeer before hee had by chance also interrd his Father.

¹¹³ Perhaps the writer was one.

¹¹⁴ Wood repeats this sentence. The interest of this part of the narrative will be greatly enhanced if the suggestion that the writer was the attending physician is found to be correct.

¹¹⁵ 'that' crossed out.

¹¹⁶ 'was gather'd to his people' substituted for 'slept with his Fathers.'

LA FEMME DANS LES CHANSONS DE GESTE.

BY H. A. SMITH.

[Continued from Vol. IX.]

IV.—L'ÉPOUSE.

Les jeunes filles sont assez souvent calomniées par les poètes, au moins par ceux qui vinrent plus tard. Mais en revanche ils mettent ordinairement les femmes mariées dans une lumière beaucoup meilleure. La position de l'épouse était en théorie égale à celle du mari. C'est ce qu'atteste cette phrase de la belle Aude répétée mille fois par d'autres femmes: "Qui jurait me prendre comme son pair."¹ Mais au XII^e siècle elle n'était pas son égale en réalité.

Sous quelques rapports la femme n'était que la vassale du baron. Quels étaient par exemple les droits d'une épouse? On lui *nommait* un douaire à son mariage mais nous ne voyons nulle part qu'elle eût sur celui-ci des droits particuliers pendant la vie de son mari. C'était seulement après sa mort que le douaire était à elle.² Elle tenait un fief de la même manière.³ Elle était toujours représentée par son mari aux cours, et dans les affaires si elle en avait. Ceci était nécessaire où la justice était un arrêt d'armes.

Le seigneur féodal pouvait exécuter sa femme pour des crimes, comme on voit dans Parise la Duchesse et Macaire, où on allait la brûler pour des crimes honteux et où elle était à la fin divorcée et chassée du pays par l'arrêt de son

¹ Voy. note au dessus.

² "De son doiare ne doit estre obliée" (Aymeri de Narbonne, V. 4434). "De Ribemont iert ma feme douée" (Raoul de Cambrai, V. 5737.)

³ Il n'y a pas d'exemples où une femme soit investie d'un fief sans lui donner en même temps un mari.

mari.¹ Il est vrai que dans Macaire ce fut pour le crime d'adultère, pour lequel l'église permettait une peine pareille. Sans doute l'église y exerçait une influence salutaire, mais dans une société où la force était le droit, on ne pouvait toujours s'y fier.² Le mauvais traitement des femmes est le sujet de plusieurs chansons de geste,³ et c'était un devoir du chevalier de redresser les torts des dames.

Il ne manque pas de proverbes malins contre l'épouse, quoiqu'on puisse les attribuer pour la plupart à la malice des poètes, parce que les épouses qui étaient vraiment méchantes sont peu nombreuses.⁴

Cependant les femmes avaient leurs petits défauts. Par exemple elles n'étaient pas toujours assez discrètes. Le père de Doon, dans ce beau passage où il donna des conseils à son fils, dit: "Et quant tu saras rien que celer tu vourras,—ne le dy à ta femme nulement, ce tu l'as:—car ce elle le scet, tu t'en repentiras—au premier desplaisir que tu mais lui feras."⁵ Mais il y a aussi des sentiments contraires et avec plus de raison. Ainsi quand Doon était en prison il nomma toute sa grande lignée qui l'avait oublié, mais il ajouta: "mes de tous cheus ne m'est vaillant .I. oef pelés,—forsque de ma mouillier, qui tant m'avoit amés."⁶ De plus les héros les plus renommés n'hésitent pas à prendre conseil à leurs femmes, qui le donnent souvent très sagement.⁷ Sans doute Guillaume d'Orenge n'aurait pas été un si grand homme sans

¹ Parise la Duchesse, V. 6013. Macaire, V. 382.

² Quand le roi avait enlevé l'épouse de Bernier et allait la donner à un autre, elle dit: "Biaus sine rois, merci.—n'encor gaires que B. li hardis —m'a espousée par verté le vos di;—jugies en droit, li clerg de cest païs, Que la loi Deu aveis a maintenir. Laerés vos dont crestienté honir?" Mais de peur du roi, "Trestuit se taissent li grant et li petit" (Raoul de Cambrai, V. 6185).

³ Parise la Duchesse, Doon de maience, Berte aus Grans Piés, Macaire etc.

⁴ Un bourgeois prend pitié d'Aiol et veut lui donner des habits, mais sa femme s'y oppose et dit du mal d'Aiol. C'est un passage auquel je n'ai guère vu un semblable (Aiol, V. 1220).

⁵ Doon de Maience, V. 2471.

⁶ Gaufre, V. 1774.

⁷ Aymeri de Narbonne, V. 3782.

Guibore.¹ Que le bon chevalier aimait et honarait sa femme, mille passages nous le témoignent. Les manières entre le mari et l'épouse étaient des plus respectueuses. Il l'appelait toujours "ma belle soeur" ou "belle dame."²

Devant son seigneur, c'était le devoir de la femme d'obéir, et il y a beaucoup de passages qui attestent son humilité même dans les circonstances les plus provocantes. Sa réponse ordinaire était "tout à votre plaisir."

L'influence des femmes sur leurs maris, souvent de moeurs trop sauvages, est bien évidente dans une scène tonante, et amusante en même temps, dans *Girart de Rossillon*. Ce grand fier, Girart, qui avait été chassé de son pays par le roi, fut exhorté par un saint ermite à renoncer à sa colère et à faire pénitence. Mais, en vrai baron du moyen âge, aux plus belles prières il n'avait qu'une seule réponse obstinée: "Je veux tuer le roi." Ce ne fut qu'à la prière de Berte, sa femme, qu'il céda.³

La vie de l'époque devait donner à la femme une immense influence morale. Pendant les longs hivers, le baron vivait au sein de sa famille, et on peut croire que la femme avait alors la meilleure prétention à l'égalité avec son mari, égalité jamais reconnue dans les droits ou dans la vie ordinaire. Elle s'asseyait à son côté dans la salle ou à table.⁴ Elle avait des servantes, qui, si elle était duchesse ou comtesse, étaient des jeunes filles nobles, comme les pages de son mari étaient des fils de chevaliers.⁵ C'était honteux à elle de sortir seule.⁶

Les devoirs de la femme du baron étaient en général les mêmes que nous avons donnés pour "la jeune fille," en ajoutant ceux de la maîtresse d'une maison. Elle surveillait la

¹ Voy. la scène devant Orenge citée plus loin.

² Le titre ordinaire de la femme était "dame." Dans *Macaire où la reine Blanchesleur* était déguisée comme femme du boucheron, le roi la salua comme "Commere" et après qu'il eut appris sa vraie position, il disait toujours "dame" (*Macaire*, V. 1411).

³ *Girart de Rossillon*, V. 2207.

⁴ *Gui de Nanteuil*, V. 1877.

⁵ *Macaire*, V. 58.

⁶ *Vos estes joine dame, et tote sole alez! Se li dus le savoit vos en sauroit malgré* (*Parise la Duchesse*, V. 361).

manière de placer les invités, et quand des hôtes arrivaient au château la femme avec le châtelain descendait le perron pour les recevoir.¹

C'était en l'absence du seigneur dans les guerres ou les voyages que sa femme avait plus de soucis. Elle était alors maîtresse du château et avait beaucoup de devoirs qui appartaient ordinairement au châtelain. Tous les gens de la maison et même les hommes de guerre étaient à ses ordres, et on ne voit aucun poème où le baron se plaint de sa fidélité.²

Sans doute on dira que cette vie de la femme n'était pas gaie, et cela est vrai. Ordinairement le château était pour elle le monde. Elle n'avait pas beaucoup d'amusements. Comme son mari, elle jouait aux échecs, le jeu par excellence du moyen âge. Puis elle avait toujours sa broderie,³ et quelquefois un jongleur réjouissait le château pendant deux ou trois journées. C'était pour elle, comme pour tous les autres, une fête.⁴ Quant aux joutes pendant le douzième siècle, nous ne croyons pas qu'elles fussent une grande source d'amusement comme plus tard. On ne les voit guère sauf aux célébrations d'un mariage ou de quelque chose de semblable. La vraie bataille était trop fréquente et trop rude au XII^e siècle, pour qu'on aimât beaucoup à imiter la bataille, excepté comme préparation au combat, ou pour se défaire des exubérances de la jeunesse. A "l'adoubement" d'un chevalier ou au mariage, il y avait toujours des exercices à l'escrime et au "behourd," mais il ne s'agit pas de mettre en scène des dames ou d'échanger des défis courtois. A ces joutes improvisées la femme était souvent présente, mais elle n'y jouait aucun rôle.

¹ "Li vint encontre ses genres Loeis, et la roïne qui moult ot cler le vis" (Aliscans, V. 2604).

"Dame Aye d'Avignon a fet grant courtoisie: Les degrez avala, s'a chascune baisie" (Guî de Nanteuil, V. 2928).

² Quand les sarrasins allaient brûler Aymeri devant son château, sa femme dit, "Que sain et sauf et vif le me rendez—je vos rendrai Nerbone la cité (M. Aymeri de Narbonne, V. 1496). E. Branumunde les turs li ad rendus" (Roland, V. 3655).

³ Voy. note sur la jeune fille.

⁴ Pour le vrai type du jongleur, son métier et son accueil, voy. Huon de Bordeaux, V. 7331.

La joute comme jeu proprement dit, est évidemment plus récente.

Pour donner une idée plus vive de l'épouse au moyen âge, nous citerons deux ou trois incidents dans les vies de quelques femmes les plus renommées de nos chansons de geste.

C'est Hermenjart, la femme d'Aymeri, au sujet de laquelle on a déjà vu des scènes charmantes. Un jour le vieux Aymeri fut blessé et fait captif par les païens. Ils le lièrent à un pôtea devant Narbonne, le battirent horriblement et ménacèrent de le brûler s'il ne rendait pas la ville. Mais en vrai père de Guillaume et de Naïmer, il implora sa femme de ne pas rendre le château. Ce ne fut qu'après qu'on eut allumé le feu, que cette femme héroïque qui donna tout pour son mari, traita avec les païens. Mais ce qu'elle fit pour Aymeri elle ne l'aurait pas fait pour elle-même. Plus tard elle fut assiégée dans le donjon et elle ne se rendit point, même quand il ne restait que trois femmes presque mortes de famine.¹

Une autre est Berte, ce type de bonne femme chrétienne du moyen âge. Quand son mari, Girart, fut chassé de son pays, elle le suivit à l'exil et par sa bonté et sa piété apaisa la colère de ce fier guerrier. Pour gagner leur vie, cet homme noble, récemment comte et seigneur de la moitié de la France, fut forcé à devenir charbonnier et à porter son charbon de bois pour le vendre dans les villes—"iel, quel fardeau il portait"—et Berte devint couturière: "Se seoit toute jour en la poudre—and gaaignait son vivre au tailler et au coudre-maul vestue et chauchiée et tout entorchonnée-Couvroit sa grant biaute la gente fauconnée."²

Enfin c'est Guibore, la femme héroïque de Guillaume d'Orenge. Quand Guillaume a livré aux païens cette bataille terrible d'Aliscans, où son neveu Vivien, le Roland de la maison de Narbonne, meurt dans ses bras, sept des plus grands combattants de sa famille sont pris, et ses vingt mille Français tués jusqu'au dernier homme; alors ce géant guerrier, terrible dans son désespoir, par ses seules forces rompt les rangs des sarrasins et s'en va à Orenge. Toute l'armée

¹ Mort Aymeri de Narbonne, V. 1490.

² Girart de Rossillon, V. 2369.

païenne le poursuit; mais il tue le plus brave et, habillé comme un païen, il arrive devant la ville.

Le portier, un prêtre et Guibore avec les femmes sont les seuls habitants de la ville. Tous les hommes restent sur le champs d'Aliscans. Epuisé par ses soixante heures de bataille, ses quinze blessures et la douleur de sa défaite, il s'arrête à la grande porte et demande qu'on l'ouvre. Mais le portier ne reconnaît pas ce chevalier seul, couvert de sang et armé en païen. Guibore vient à la tour et demande son nom. "Je suis Guillaume" dit-il en pleurant, "Les païens me suivent. Ouvrez la porte." "Jamais" répond cette femme sage, "jusqu'à ce que j'aie vu votre visage." Il va ôter son heaume lorsqu'un parti de sarrasins mène une troupe de prisonniers français près de la ville. "Ah" dit elle. "Je vais voir si vous êtes vraiment Guillaume. Jamais Guillaume ne permettrait une telle indignité." Il ferme son heaume et se lance sur les païens, qui fuient avec effroi ses coups terribles. Alors elle ouvre la porte d'Orenge.

Mais lorsqu'elle va lui ôter l'armure elle dit: "Pourquoi est-ce que je vous ai laissé entrer? Si vous étiez Guillaume vous seriez revenu vainqueur. Où est Vivien et l'armée française"? "Morts," dit le comte en pleurant, "tous sont morts en Aliscans."

Elle se pâme de douleur mais lorsqu'elle apprend que ces sept comtes sont captifs, elle devient encore couragouse. "Pars" lui dit-elle. "Va en France chercher de l'aide chez le roi." Elle ne pense plus aux blessures de Guillaume, à sa fatigue, à sa douleur. En vain il y oppose de bonnes raisons. "Pars" dit-elle, "pars toujours. Moi et les femmes nous garderons les murs." Et Guillaume part. Il fait le voyage dangereux jusqu'à la cour, et deux mois plus tard, lorsque l'armée française arrive devant les murailles d'Orenge, la première chose qu'on voit est Guibore en armure et les femmes qui défendent encore la ville.¹ Elle avait raison de lui dire: "Bienheureux doit être l'homme qui a bonne femme—and s'il est bon il l'aimera de fin eoeur."²

¹ Aliscans, V. 3978.

² Aliscans, V. 1597, 2035, 8408.

V.—LA MÈRE.

Nous devons parler de la mère, mais elle est rarement trouvée dans les chansons de geste. Cependant les exemples que nous en avons indiquent que la mère n'était pas moins vénérée alors qu'elle l'est aujourd'hui, qu'elle l'a été toujours.¹

Il y a une question intéressante et, semble-t-il difficile à résoudre: Les mères nobles—allaitaient-elles leurs enfants? M. Gautier dit: "Il nous faut bien constater non sans quelque regret, que les mères de nos chevaliers ne nourrissaient pas volontiers leurs enfants, et que l'usage des nourricees était dès lors très répandu."² Il parle le plus souvent des moeurs du XII^e siècle.

Nous ne voulons pas dire que cette assertion ne soit pas vraie, parce que nous n'avons pas toutes les preuves du contraire, mais nous croyons que la phrase appliquée à la femme du XII^e siècle dit trop, si l'on l'appuie seulement sur les passages que cite M. Gautier, et aussi sur ceux que nous avons pu trouver.

(I) D'abord il cite un passage dans *Les Sept Sages*, écrit peut-être au XV^e siècle. Mais une autorité du XV^e siècle pouvait ignorer aussi bien que nous le XII^e siècle. (II) Un autre passage cité est de Brun de la Montaigne³ où la mère dit "qu'elle n'avait pas de lait pour son enfant" et emploie une nourrice. Mais ce passage était nécessaire à l'histoire, pour y faire entrer la nourrice, qui était fée et marraine de l'enfant, et qui jouait un rôle capital dans la vie du dernier. De plus, ce poème est un roman du XV^e siècle. (III) Dans *Gui de Nanteuil*, aussi cité par M. Gautier, le poète dit, "11 norrichiez li baillent pour lever et baignier."⁴ On ne dit pas

¹ Dans deux poèmes où une femme fut condamnée à mort la peine fut changée en exil parce qu'elle se déclara enceinte. C'est un fait intéressant considéré en rapport avec les droits plus récents (P. la Duehesse, V. 616; Macaire, V. 680): Dans le premier passage un prêtre accusa une femme de sa confession et à cause de cela il fut mis à mort. C'est une confirmation frappante de la sainteté de la confession.

² *La Chevalerie*, p. 118.

³ V. 1867.

⁴ *Gui de Nanteuil*, V. 116.

qu'elles *allaitassent* l'enfant, et cette phrase soulève la question si le mot *nourrice* voulait dire nécessairement une femme qui allaitait l'enfant. Nous eroyons que non. Dans le passage cité Des Sept Sages l'enfant avait “*trois nourrices*, l'une le *baigna*, l'autre le *caucha*, et l'autre l'allaita.” Dans Aiol les deux enfants jumeaux avaient *quatre nourrices*.¹

N'est-ee pas donc que le mot *nourrice* était evidemment employé dans un sens plus étendu que celui d'*allaiter*?— S'il n'est pas vrai, on ne pourrait concilier aucunement ces vers dans Raoul de Cambrai: (IV) M. Gautier cite le vers suivant de l'enfant Raoul: “Et la nourrice qui moult ot eler le vis.”² Mais sa mère Ailis dit dans le même poème: “Ja l'ai je lase si doueument norri,” et aussi: “Biax fix Raoul,” dist Ailis la bele, “*je te norri del lait de ma mamele*.³ Il semble ici que la nourrice était tout bonnement la servante qui soignait l'enfant.

(V) Dans Jourdains de Blaivies,⁴ où il y avait *deux enfants*, dont l'un n'était *pas fils* de la châtelaine, on ne dit pas que les nourrices allaitassent l'enfant, mais c'est probable. (VI) Dans Aiol où il y a *quatre nourrices*, les enfants avaient été enlevés et n'avaient pas de mère.⁵

(VII) Un des renvois est dans Godefroi de Bouillon, où le héros était allaité par sa mère, ce qui fut regardé comme exception par le poète.⁶ (VIII) Enfin le dernier passage cité par M. Gautier est dans Parise la Duchesse, où l'héroïne, qui était en exil et privée de son propre enfant, devint nourrice du fils d'un baron. Il n'y a pas de doute à ce sujet. Elle dit: “Norice serai bone, car j'ai lait assez.”⁷ Mais ici l'histoire avait besoin de chercher une occupation pour la femme.

Le dernier passage est le seul du XII^e siècle qui indique avec certitude qu'une nourrice allaitait l'enfant quand la

¹ Aiol, V. 9369.

² Raoul de Cambrai, V. 86.

³ V. 1147, 1001.

⁴ Parise la Duchesse, V. 944.

⁵ Jourdains de Blaivies, V. 576.

⁶ Godefroi de Bouillon, V. 639.

⁷ Aiol, V. 9368.

mère pouvait le faire, et on a une preuve du contraire toute aussi forte dans Raoul de Cambrai, une des meilleures autorités.

(IX) Dans Macaire il y a un passage où il semblerait que la mère allaitait son enfant : "Mais la roine qui la *nori* souef— Qui de sa fille connoist euer et pensé."¹ Enfin on pourrait dire beaucoup contre l'assertion que l'usage des nourrices était très répandu, en alléguant les moeurs et la condition de la société du XII^e siècle. Mais c'est une question qui mérite une recherche à part, et nous en avons déjà trop parlé pour la portée de cette thèse.

La mère avait une part importante à l'éducation de l'enfant.² Les premières années des fils étaient confiées à ses soins. Quant aux filles, on n'a pas besoin de le demander. Elles étaient confiées aux soins particuliers de leurs mères jusqu'au mariage, et même toujours.

Il y a une chose digne de remarque sous ce rapport. Dans ces poèmes où les jeunes filles jouent un rôle si effronté, on ne fait jamais mention d'une mère. Nous avons cherché dans l'histoire d'une dizaine des plus méchantes héroïnes et il n'y a pas un seul passage où l'on trouve une mère. On pourrait presque croire qu'elles étaient toutes des orphelines de mère. Mais qu'est-ce que tout cela veut dire ? C'est, nous le croyons, que la mère aurait été un empêchement au rôle qu'on donnait aux jeunes filles. Si celles-ci avaient eu des mères, elles n'auraient pas été si effrontées. Tout cela n'est pas naturel et on peut bien douter de ces poètes-là.

Comme toujours une amitié la plus étroite liait ensemble la mère et les fils. La mère était la médiatrice entre eux et leur père, souvent trop emporté. Elle ne les oubliait jamais. Dans Renaud de Montauban³ les quatre fils d'Aimon, qui étaient poursuivis par le roi et chassés par leur père, retournèrent un jour en haillons au château et demandèrent à manger, et pendant que la mère les servait, elle les reconnut en dépit de la longue séparation. Ah ! quelle joie elle en

¹ Macaire, V. 1784.

² Aiol, V. 268, déjà cité.

³ P. 89.

avait! Et comme elle les chargea de vivres et d'habits quand ils partirent!

Le fils était respectueux envers sa mère. Il y a une seule exception. C'est dans cette chanson des moeurs sauvages, Raoul de Cambrai. Aïlis cherchait en vain à décider Raoul à ne pas faire la guerre contre les fils d'Herbert. Il se facha et lui répondit brutalement,¹ et dans un moment d'exaltation elle le maudit. Mais elle s'en repentit: "Ainc en trois jors ne menga ne dormi,—Tout por son fil qu'elle avoit laidi."² Et après qu'il fut tué, dans toutes les scènes sanglantes qui suivent, on la voit de temps en temps passer, comme un spectre perpetuel de la vengeance. Il y a surtout une scène superbe. C'est celle où Bernier, meurtrier de Raoul, est porté sur un lit, blessé presque à mort. Aïlis le voit, et saisit un gros bâton pour l'assommer. Et Bernier, qu'elle avait nourri, se traîne à ses pieds en lui criant merci. C'est le cœur d'une mère aux prises avec la pitié d'une femme.³

La mère du XII^e siècle était courageuse. S'il le fallait elle pouvait tout sacrifier. En Daurel et Beton un traître, qui avait tué son seigneur, voulait s'emparer du petit fils, héritier du fief. L'enfant était entre les mains d'un jongleur et de sa femme, fidèles sujets de leur seigneur. Le traître attaquait leur maison et allait l'emporter. Qu'est-ce qu'ils feront? C'est la femme qui répondit. "Donnez-lui notre fils," dit elle, "ils sont de même âge. Notre fils mourra mais notre seigneur sera sauvé."⁴ Le brutal traître brisa la tête de leur enfant contre le perron. Le jongleur s'échappa sur la mer avec le petit héritier, et la femme héroïque mourut de douleur. C'est le comble de la féodalité.⁴

VI.—LA VEUVE.

Peut-être les veuves méritent-elles un paragraphe à part; sans doute il y en avait assez dans ces jours de batailles et de croisades. Leur sort certainement n'était pas enviable.

¹ V. 1100.

² V. 3512.

³ Raoul de Cambrai, V. 5243.

⁴ Daurel et Beton, V. 1013.

Pour maintenir leur fief il leur fallait presque toujours se remarier et quelque fois à un homme qu'elles haïssaient, peut-être à l'assassin de leurs maris qui voulait s'emparer de leurs fiefs.¹ Il semble que le parent ou le seigneur eût le même droit sur les veuves qu'il avait sur la jeune fille.² Si les veuves n'avaient pas de fils d'un âge à maintenir le fief leur seul moyen d'échapper à un mariage désagréable, était de devenir religieuses et c'est ce que beaucoup faisaient.³

Cette condition sans défense des veuves est partout reconnue dans les chansons de geste. La principale recommandation de Charlemagne à son fils Louis fut de ne rien ôter aux veuves;⁴ et l'homme qui maltraitait les veuves et les orphelins était type d'un homme mauvais.⁵

VII.—LA RELIGIEUSE.

On pourrait écrire toute une dissertation sur la religieuse du moyen âge. Mais on ne voit pas que la femme du XII^e siècle devint volontiers religieuse sauf pour quelque cause comme celle citée plus haut. C'est ordinairement une femme qui n'était plus jeune, et qui se retirait après la perte de son mari.

Pourtant on voit assez souvent des maisons religieuses pour les femmes.⁶ Girart et Berte en fondèrent.⁷ On en mentionne deux dans Raoul de Cambrai.⁸

¹ C'est ce qu'on voulut faire en Doon de Maience et qu'on accomplit en Daurel et Beton.

² La femme de Bernier retourna chez son père et le roi la maria à l'ennemi de Bernier (Raoul de Cambrai, V. 6790). Daurel et Beton, V. 644.

³ Hermenjart "nonain devint et servé Dame dé" Mort Aymeri de Narbonne). C'est la menace ordinaire d'une femme qui s'oppose à un mariage.

⁴ Couronnement Looys, V. 84.

⁵ "Les orfenins faisoit desireter—Les veuves dames lor rentes recuper—Moult le maudient li home du rené" (Huon de Bordeaux, V. 2465).

⁶ Aye d'Avignon, p. 29.

⁷ Girart de Rossillon, p. 228.

⁸ V. 1394, 7315.

VIII.—CONCLUSION.

Nous avons déjà parlé de la grande différence entre les jeunes filles des poèmes les plus anciens et celles des plus récents. Quoiqu'il n'y ait pas beaucoup de renseignements sur la femme dans les chansons de geste plus vieilles, le peu qu'on trouve la met dans une lumière très belle. Mais dans les poèmes du XIII^e siècle les jeunes filles sont souvent des monstres d'effronterie et d'impudicité. Quelle est l'explication de ce changement?

M. Gautier, avec d'autres, dit que les poètes mentent tout bonnement.¹ Sans doute il a raison jusqu'à un certain point. On ne peut pas croire les femmes aussi méchantes que quelques trouvères les ont peintes. Et quand les choses dépassent toute imagination, toute ressemblance au naturel, on peut, à juste titre, refuser de les croire. Mais si l'on accepte leur témoignage en beaucoup de faits importants et quelquefois très étranges, peut-on en douter entièrement en d'autres choses sans en donner une explication suffisante? Et si les vieilles chansons de geste sont vraiment un reflet de la vie de leur temps, qu'est-ce que signifient ces caricatures de la jeune fille du XIII^e siècle et de la fin du XII^e? Parce que s'il est vrai qu'elles soient principalement des caricatures et des mensonges il doit exister une raison pour que les gens les écoutassent volontiers.

Tout en acceptant les belles raisons qu'on donne au sujet de la malignité et de l'ignorance des poètes à l'égard de la femme, nous croyons que ces portraits indiquent un changement notable dans la position de la femme et dans les moeurs du temps. On sait que les XI^e et XII^e siècles étaient la période d'une renaissance religieuse et morale au nord de la France,² la région où l'on croit que presque toutes les chansons de geste ont leur origine. L'église en était la cause, et les moeurs étaient très austères. Mais au sud les conditions étaient tout-a-fait différentes. La société était plus élégante et plus libre, mais moins simple et

¹ *La Chevalerie*, p. 377.

² Voy. Guizot et Martin.

moins morale. On voit là les cours d'amours qui jugent "que l'amour n'est pas possible entre des mariés," et d'autres jugements pareils.¹ Les moeurs étaient licencieuses et on sait que plus tard, au moins pendant le XIV^e et XV^e siècles, les mêmes conditions arrivaient au nord, ce que témoignent les romans souvent très immoraux de la période décadante, aussi bien que les historiens. N'est-ce pas possible donc que ces portraits dans les poèmes indiquent l'influence de la société peu chaste du midi, qui influait de si bonne heure sur les moeurs du nord? C'était au XII^e siècle que les croisades et les diverses expéditions militaires commencèrent cette amalgame des idées, des langues et des moeurs, qui faisaient la France unie. C'est alors que les barons rudes et guerriers du nord voyaient, non seulement la civilisation du midi de l'Europe, mais aussi le luxe et les vices de l'orient; et on doit noter ici, nous semble-t-il, que le plus grand nombre des héroïnes, qui jouent un si mauvais rôle dans les chansons, sont des sarrasines ou des païennes.² De plus il paraît vraisemblable qu'il y ait dans plusieurs poèmes des éléments de deux sociétés bien différentes. On ne peut guère croire à une autre explication des deux parties d'Aiol, dont l'une a des moeurs si austères tandis que l'autre renferme tout le mauvais goût, et toute l'immoralité de la période décadante.³ Le temps entre les dates de composition des deux parties semble une explication insuffisante pour un tel changement dans les moeurs. Aussi ne faut-il pas oublier qu'il y avait des poèmes auxquels il n'y a rien de tel à reprocher, comme Aymeri de Narbonne, écrit au XIII^e siècle. Ils sont des imitations, c'est possible, mais on voit qu'il y avait un pays ou une société où on désirait de telles imitations.

Mais si ces portraits des jeunes filles donnent un tableau quelconque de la société de l'époque, quelle était vraiment la

¹ Le Roux de Lincy, "Les Femmes célèbres de l'ancienne France," p. 179.

² Sur douze des plus méchantes, neuf sont des païennes. Les deux les plus abominables sont Floripas en "Fierbras," et Sebille qui est mariée, en "La Chanson de Saisnes."

³ Aussi Elie de Saint-Gilles, Raoul de Cambrai, Gaydon etc.

position de la femme au XIII^e siècle en comparaison avec celle de la première partie du XII^e? Sans doute il ne serait pas possible de dire que sa position était plus ou moins mauvaise. Peut-être, avait-elle plus de liberté, et plus de droits, dans la société, et, en revanche, elle avait perdu quelque chose du respect, qu'elle inspirait autrefois aux esprits de ces hommes rudes qui la vénéraient tout en la maltraitant. C'est possible qu'elle abusât un peu de sa nouvelle liberté—on le fait toujours—au moins les idées de quelques poètes les plus malins suggèrent une telle interprétation.

On a fait mention plus haut d'une institution qui mérite ici un paragraphe. C'est les cours d'amour. De Lincy dans son livre, "Les femmes célèbres de l'ancienne France" dit:¹ "Ces assemblées paraissent s'être formées dès que la première moitié du douzième siècle au midi, et dans le nord, vers 1140." Ces cours étaient des réunions des dames pour juger des querelles d'amants, des chansons d'amour etc., et De Lincy croit qu'elles étaient de grande importance dans la société de l'époque. Pour la plupart ses exemples sont basés sur le "Choix des poésies originales des troubadours" de Raynouard, écrivain provençal. Quant au midi nous n'en disons rien, et il n'y a aucun doute qu'une telle institution jouât là un rôle, mais il nous semble bien étrange qu'au nord, pays des chansons de geste, une telle chose pût exister et fleurir pendant un siècle, le plus fécond de nos épiques, sans que nous puissions en trouver la moindre indication dans les poèmes. De plus, lorsque nous pensons à la condition de la femme, au moins comme nous l'entendons, nous ne voyons pas comment une telle institution soit possible. Nous ne croyions pas les femmes du XII^e siècle si indépendantes, si hardies: et l'idée d'un Raoul, d'un Guillaume ou d'un Roland qui paraisse devant une telle assemblée des dames, comme compétiteur pour le prix dans une chanson d'amour, nous semble assez ridicule.

Quoiqu'il nous manque des textes pour décider la question avec certitude, nous n'avons pu trouver aucunes preuves certaines que ces cours fussent en vogue dans le nord de la France

¹ Voy. note au dessus.

avant le milieu du XIII^e siècle,¹ et nous ne pouvons pas comprendre pourquoi les poèmes ne les mentionnerait pas si elles y existaient. Si l'on pouvait déterminer que ces cours étaient connues seulement au midi pendant cette période, ce serait une autre preuve de la composition septentrionale de la chanson de geste.

A l'égard donc de la position de la femme en société et en droit, elle s'appelait l'égale de l'homme ; mais on a vu que cette égalité n'avait rien de vrai, parce que la force était souvent la loi, et la femme était la plus faible. Aussi dans quelques poèmes, les plus vieux et les plus guerriers, la femme compte pour peu de chose. Roland meurt en pensant à son épée, à ses conquêtes et à son seigneur, Charlemagne, mais de la fiancée qui l'aimait si éperdument, pas un mot dans cette belle oraison.² On dit à la sage Ailis d'aller chez ses femmes, de manger et de boire et de laisser les affaires aux hommes.³

Mais tous les poèmes ne sont pas des moeurs aussi farouches et les droits de la femme étaient nombreux. Elle tenait des fiefs, et elle pourrait peut-être rejeter un mariage désagréable. Elle avait des missions importantes dans la religion et dans la société. Même elle exerçait quelquefois ce droit le plus relevé et le plus exclusif de la chevalerie, et elle *adouba*it des chevaliers.⁴ Mais c'est dans la vie domestique qu'elle avait le pouvoir le plus grand. Elle adoucissait les moeurs de ces barons farouches et, aidée par l'église elle faisait beaucoup avancer le règne de la justice et de la pitié, dans ces châteaux féodaux, pendant ces deux siècles de demi-obscurité. Enfin les poètes n'ont pas manqué de nous don-

¹ Martin: *Histoire de la France*.

² Roland, V. 2259.

³ Raoul de Cambrai, V. 1100.

⁴ C'est ce qu'elle fait en Doon de Maience (V. 8261), Gaufrey (V. 3678), Gui de Nanteuil (V. 942) et Hugues Capet (V. 2060). Un des meilleurs exemples est dans *Li Covenans Vivien* (V. 1270) où Guibor donna l'accolade à Guichardet. M. Gautier donne aussi Auberon et Jourdains de Blaivies. C'est clair que c'était assez commun pour ne pas exciter l'étonnement, mais nous ne le croyons pas représentatif. Cela n'était pas un *adoubement* en règle.

ner des types dignes de se comparer avec les femmes célèbres du monde entier. Ce sont Aïlis la mère qui n'oubliait jamais son fils, la belle Aude qui aimait Roland mieux que les Français de tous les siècles n'ont pu le faire. Ce sont la femme guerrière, Guiborc, et enfin Berte la comtesse couturière, type parfait de la chrétienne du XII^e siècle.

Il y a une question qu'on fait sans cesse quand on parle d'une période quelconque de l'histoire. Quel fut le sort du peuple? Fut-il heureux? Comment répondre à cette question au sujet de la femme du XII^e siècle? Si le progrès de la civilisation du monde est tout bonnement une augmentation des conditions qui produisent le bonheur, quel besoin de le demander? Nous nous sommes certainement bien avancés depuis le XII^e siècle. Mais il y avait aussi des causes spéciales pour que le sort de la femme de cette époque ne fût pas le plus digne d'envie. Ce siècle était en général le règne de la force, et c'est toujours, aux époques de violence, la femme, le sexe plus faible, qui souffre les plus grandes rigueurs. La femme du moyen âge savait pleurer. C'était son métier à elle, et quelquefois toute son histoire. Un baron dans *Girart de Rossillon* en priant un autre de quitter sa douleur, dit: "Plorer doivent li femmes," et nous savons qu'elles n'en manquaient pas de causes et qu'elles pleuraient bien. C'est une chose peut-être peu connue des admirateurs de l'antiquité, que nous avons des modèles de la douleur dignes de comparer à celle si renommée pour le héros de la Troie.¹ Dans ces croisades immenses contre les Mahométans de l'orient, dans ces guerres contre les Sarrasins au midi de l'Europe et ces expéditions contre les Saxons du nord, et finalement, dans ces terribles luttes féodales entre des voisins, que de femmes qui aimait si bien leurs maris, femmes à qui la vie avait commencé si heureusement, devaient voir les corps sanglants de ces forts et vigoureux guerriers portés dans la cour du château, ou, plus triste encore, attendre pendant

¹ Aïlis et la fiancée de Raoul, Hermenjart dans la *Mort Aymeri de Narbonne* et surtout Aude à la mort de Roland.

longues années les chevaliers qui ne retournaient plus! Que de vies de femmes finissaient alors, comme finissent les plus belles chansons de geste, sur un note monotone et triste.¹

¹ Comme Aliscans, Raoul de Cambrai, mais surtout, *La Chanson de Roland*. (On omet le biliographie à cause de l'étendue de la thèse.)

AN INTERFEROMETER STUDY OF RADIATIONS IN A MAGNETIC FIELD.*

BY PROFESSOR J. C. SHEDD.

In the historical development of this subject two well marked experimental methods have been developed. The first of these is the Spectrophotographic method used by Dr. P. Zeeman and the majority of those who have followed. This method is found to be limited, (1) in range by reason of the small resolving power of the ruled grating, so that good results are only obtained by using strong magnetic fields. It is also limited, (2) in accuracy, by reason of the wide margin of error in the settings of the micrometer, especially when nebulous lines are to be measured.

The second method is due to Professor A. A. Michelson and consists in the use of the interferential refractometer as devised by him. This method is found to have a resolving power greatly in excess of the photographic method, and hence is applicable to low values as well as to high values of magnetic field strength. The results so far accomplished may be briefly summarized as follows:

I. By the Spectrophotographic Method.

- (1) A classification of spectral lines according to the type of line produced by the action of the magnetic field.
- (2) The measurement of the change in wave-length produced by the magnetic field, and a determination of the ratio of ionic charge to ionic mass (e/m).

II. With the interferometer method Professor Michelson has presented three well-marked types of lines with a possible fourth type.

The experiments now to be briefly described have sought to determine:

* See also *Physikalische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 1, No. 24.

I. The limiting conditions attending the observation of the phenomenon.

II. A comparison of the ease of manipulation and range of the two methods.

III. Whether at different temperatures the magnetic effect is radically different.

IV. To measure the magnetic shift (*i. e.*, change of wavelength) of the spectral lines examined, and to determine the ratio e/m . Also to observe the state of polarization of the components.

In the study of parts I., II. and III. the sodium flame and sodium in a vacuum tube was made use of. The conclusions reached were as follows:

- I. (1) The magnetic shift of the sodium lines D_1D_2 as given by a naked flame, cannot, with the spectroscope method, be distinctly observed at the temperature of the Bunsen flame, nor of the air-blast flame, nor at the temperature of the oxy-hydrogen flame, unless precautions are taken against spontaneous reversals.
- (2) The phenomena can be better observed parallel to the magnetic field than perpendicular to it, as the strength of field necessary to produce a pure (*i. e.*, visual) triplet is twice that necessary to produce the doublet.
- (3) There is a very perceptible time lag both when the magnet is excited and when the current is broken, during which time the spectral lines show an inertia effect. The time lag does not seem to be wholly due to the self-induction of the magnet, but may be partially due to persistence of vision and partially to ionic inertia.
- (4) A field strength of at least 15,000 C.G.S. units seems to be necessary for satisfactory observation, and spectra above the second order are too faint for good effects.

II. (1) The interferometer is capable of showing the magnetic effect for field strengths below 1,000 C.G.S. units.

(2) The visibility curves,¹ even under unfavorable circumstances, show clearly the general character of the magnetic action, and when checked through a long series by means of an harmonic analyzer² furnish an incomparable method of analysis.

(3) When unaccompanied by such a check, and for quantitative measurements of change of wave-length another use of the interferometer furnishes a better method.

III. (1) At the temperature of the Bunsen flame there is a distinct ionic "lag" or constraint which is suddenly overcome, at a field strength of 9,500 C.G.S. units.

(2) This ionic lag becomes less as the temperature rises and is practically absent at the hottest temperature of the oxy-hydrogen flame, or of the vacuum tube.

(3) The change in wave-length reaches a maximum value, depending upon the temperature, at about 11,000 C.G.S. units. For values of magnetic field above this the effect is to broaden the component lines and not to further separate them.

This latter point may be peculiar to sodium and due to the simultaneous presence of the lines D_1D_2 . No observations have yet been made upon these lines separately, the dispersion necessary to isolate them being too great.

MEASUREMENTS OF MAGNETIC SHIFT.

The equation expressing the relation of the change of wave-length ($\lambda - \lambda'$) to the strength of the magnetic field (H) producing it is

$$\lambda - \lambda' = \left(e/m \frac{\lambda^2}{2\pi\nu} \right) H,$$

¹ Phil. Mag. (5), 44, pp. 109-115, 1897; (5), 45, pp. 348-356, 1898.

² Phil. Mag. (5), 45, p. 85, 1898.

showing that for a given value of λ the change of wave-length should be proportional to the value of H , provided no constraint is present. It is found that a constraint is present at low temperatures, but disappears as the temperature rises.

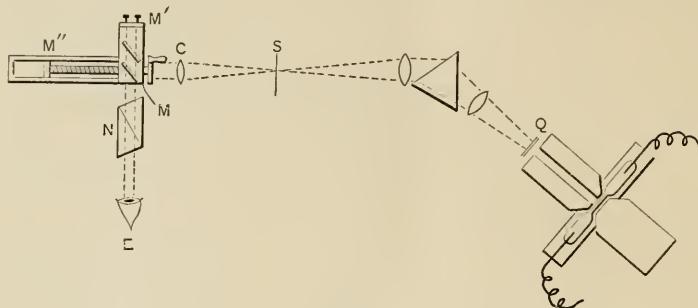


FIG. 1.

The conditions of high temperature and low pressure are best fulfilled by the vacuum tube and hence this was used as a source of illumination. The arrangement of apparatus is shown in Fig. 1.

The difficulties encountered were such as to reduce the satisfactory observations to the lines of sodium, mercury, cadmium and zinc. The results are summarised in Table I. and also shown graphically in Fig. 2.

TABLE I.

Substance.	Line.	Magnetic shift for $H = 10,000$.
Sodium ¹	Yellow line.	0.414 A. U.
Mercury.....	Yellow line.	0.256
Mercury.....	Green line.	0.310
Mercury.....	Violet line.	0.240
Cadmium.....	Red line.	0.262
Cadmium.....	Green line.	0.240
Cadmium.....	Blue line.	0.274
Zinc.....	Blue line.	0.288

¹ The echelon spectroscope shows the separation of the components of D_2 to be about two thirds of that of D_1 . The value here given belongs to D_1 , the line having the greatest magnetic shift.

RATIO OF IONIC CHARGE TO IONIC MASS.

The relation of ionic charge to ionic mass is given by the equation:

$$e/m = \frac{\lambda - \lambda'}{\lambda^2} \frac{2\pi\nu}{H}.$$

The numerical value of this ratio may now be determined from the values of magnetic shift, and the corresponding

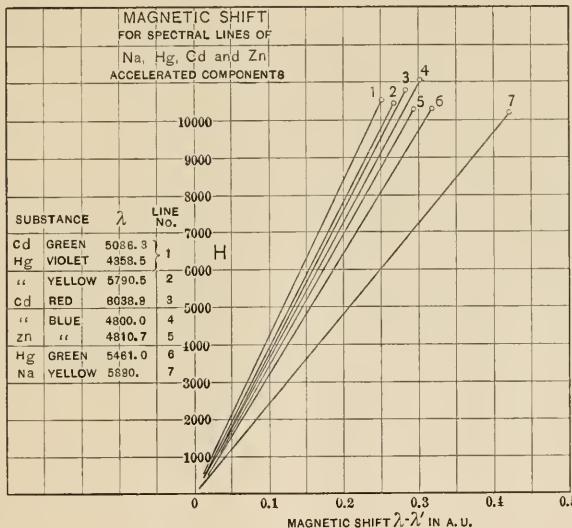


FIG. 2.

values of H . For the lines given in Table I. the values are given in Table II.

TABLE II.

Substance.	Line.	e/m	Type of Line (Michelson).
Sodium.....	Yellow.	22.45×10^6	
Mercury.....	Violet.	23.81×10^6	
Cadmium.....	Blue.	22.41×10^6	Type II.
Zinc.....	Blue.	23.46×10^6	
Mercury.....	Green.	18.59×10^6	Type III.
Cadmium.....	Green.	17.48×10^6	
Mercury.....	Yellow.	14.35×10^6	Type I.
Cadmium.....	Red.	11.93×10^6	

In the last column is added the corresponding grouping of the lines as determined by Professor Michelson.¹ It is thus seen that the groupings made by Michelson according to the structure of the spectral line is the same as that given when the lines are grouped according to the value of the ratio e/m .

A study of Tables I. and II. and Fig. 2 leads to the following conclusions:

- (1) A classification of lines according to the amount of magnetic shift is of little value; but a classification according to the value of e/m is significant.
- (2) The smaller the ratio e/m the less the broadening of the component lines and the simpler the structure; *vice versa*, the larger the ratio e/m the more the broadening and the more complex the structure.

Professor J. J. Thomson has shown that there is reason to believe that the ionic charge is always a constant. If this be applicable to the present case, we may conclude from Table II. that the larger the ionic mass the simpler is the structure of the line; and the smaller this ionic mass the more complex the structure. We also conclude that the different spectral lines of a substance are due to distinct ions.

¹ *Astrophys. Jr.*, 7, p. 136, 1898; *Nature*, March 9, 1899.



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